

**SEAPRAP RESEARCH
REPORT NO. 90**

**FERTILITY STUDIES AND INFLUENCE OF WIFE'S
EMPLOYMENT ON FAMILY DECISION-MAKING PATTERNS:
A FAMILY PLANNING PERSPECTIVE**

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May 1982

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A report of research undertaken with the assistance of an award from the Southeast Asia Population Research Awards Program (SEAPRAP), Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Republic of Singapore

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(an edited version)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The study is composed of two main parts. Part I, from Chapter IV to Chapter VI, attempts to assess an explanatory power of socio-economic, life - style, and KAP factors for expected fertility differentials exhibited by the sampled women in Ayudhya. And Part II, Chapter VII, is directed towards a concept of female status, a description of Thai family system, followed by an analysis of female labour force participation and its influence in family decision - making.

This research would not have been possible without the grant from the Southeast Asia Population Research Awards Program (SEAPRAP). Special thanks are due to Dr. Pedro Flores, the project Coordinator, Dr. Kernial S. Sandhu, Chairman of the Program Committee, and Ms. Julie Hui, Program Assistant.

I would also like to express my deep appreciation to Dr. Wilfredo F. Arce and Dr. Jesucita Sodusta, the Program Coordinators, who have been extremely patient with my work which has long been overdue. I am therefore indebted to them for their thoughtfulness and personal encouragement.

And finally, I wish to acknowledge Mrs. Sri-tep Vaewhong, the research assistant, who gave me a good hand in reviewing literature and gathering data.

Once again I am grateful to all concerned, and I take full responsibility for any omissions and mistakes in this research.

Chavalit Siripiom
Hatyai, Thailand
May 1982

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

One of the greatest problems in the world today is population. The rise in population is now the largest in history and could double in the next four decades. Since 1900, the world population has increased from 1.5 billion to the present level of about 4 billion.¹ At present, population in the developing regions is increasing at almost three times the rate of the developed regions. The average growth of the former is about 2.5 per cent per year, whereas the latter is about 1.0 per cent---yielding doubling times of 28 and 70 years respectively. Accordingly, the most rapid population growth occurs disproportionately in the poor countries, and the accompanying burden is greatest where it can least be accommodated.²

Thailand, is facing a serious problem of high growth rate. In 1971, it ranked sixteenth among countries in the world with high growth rate and third among Asian countries. Because of its adverse effects on economic and social development, the Thai Government declared a National Population Policy in 1970 to support voluntary family planning. The National Family Planning Program (NFPP) was under the Ministry of Public Health.

¹ Population Reference Bureau, Inc., World Population Growth and Response, 1975, p.1.

² E. Barelson with the collaboration of staff members of the Population Council, "World Population: Status Report 1974," A Publication of the Population Council, No.15, Jan. 1974, p.5.

The two of Five-year proposals have been drawn up for inclusion in the Third and the Fourth Five-year Social and Economic Plan (1972-1976, and 1977-1981) of the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB). The main objective is to reduce the population growth rate from over 3 per cent to about 2.5 per cent by the end of 1976, and to about 2.1 per cent by the end of 1981.

There have been many studies on fertility behavior in Thailand during the last decades.³ And, yet, these studies worked on a limited number of variables, and mostly on traditional measures of socio-economic status. There was a study, using the 1960 census data, on relationships between female labor force participation and fertility in Thailand, conducted by Goldstein eight years ago⁴ but its findings were not conclusive.

³ Thip Chalothorn, "Fertility Levels and Differentials in Thailand," International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Sydney Conference, 1967 (Canberra: Australian National University); John Knodel and Visid Prachuabmoh, "Demographic Aspects of Fertility in Thailand," Population Studies, Vol.XVIII, No.3 (November, 1974); John Knodel and Pichit Pitaktesubatti, "Thailand: Fertility and Family Planning," Studies in Family Planning, Vol.IV, No.9 (September, 1973); Sidney Goldstein, "Religious Fertility Differentials in Thailand," Population Studies, Vol.XXIV, No.3 (November, 1970); Suchart Prasithrathsint, "Some Factors Affecting Fertility and Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of Family Planning Among Rural Thai Women," Working Paper No.2 (Bangkok: Institute of Population Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1973); Chavalit Siripitrom, "Fertility Differentials in Chiangmai: Socio-Economic Status, Life-Style, and KAP Characteristics," A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate School of Syracuse University, 1976, and etc.

⁴ Sidney Goldstein, Alice Goldstein, and Penporn Tirasawat, "The Influence of Labor Force Participation and Education on Fertility in Thailand," Research Report No.2 (Bangkok: Institute of Population Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1972).

Exploring the relationship between economic structure of populations and the level of fertility in some fifty nations, Kasarda found a strong negative association between fertility and the percentage of females employed for wages or salaries. Moreover, controls for urbanization, industrialization, and education attenuated the original correlation, the partial correlation between fertility and female wage employment remained quite large and in the hypothesized direction.⁵ In contrast to the generally well-established negative relationship between female employment and fertility in the industrialized world,⁶ research on less developed countries points to such uniform pattern.⁷ There is increasing evidence to suggest, however, that the greater the incompatibility between the role of mother and worker, the greater the differential fertility behavior of workers and women not in the labor force.⁸

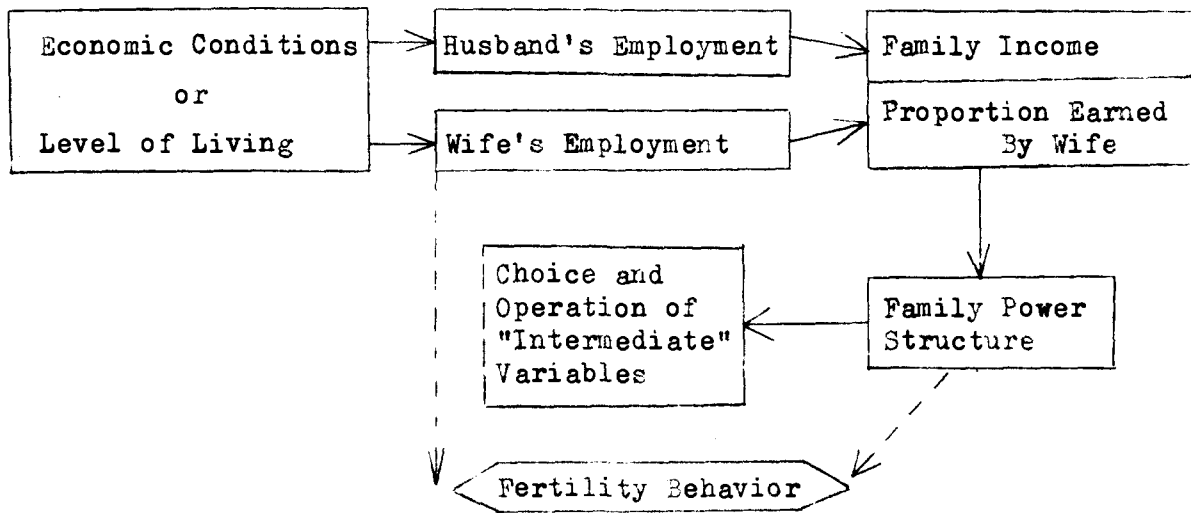
⁵ John D. Kasarda, "Economic Structure and Fertility: A Comparative Analysis," Demography, Vol.VIII (August, 1971), pp. 307-317.

⁶ J. Mayone Stycos and Robert H. Weller "Female Working Roles and Fertility," Demography, Vol.IV (1967), pp. 210-217.

⁷ David Heer and Elsa S. Turner, "Areal Differences in Latin American Fertility," Population Studies, Vol.XVIII (March, 1965), pp. 279-292.

⁸ Robert H. Weller, "The Employment of Wives, Role Incompatibility, and Fertility," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol.XLVI (October, 1968), pp. 507-526; A.J. Jaffe and K. Azumi, "The Birth Rate and Cottage Industries in Underdeveloped Countries," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol.IX (October, 1960), pp. 52-63.

Also, it may not be female labor force participation, but rather family decision-making patterns resulting from wife's employment, which directly affect fertility levels as displayed in the following diagram.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

When studying the internal decision-making processes of the family or the so-called "family power structure", sociologists have found that decision making roles differ according to the specific area of behavior. In western culture the male appears to have major responsibilities for the labor supply decision.¹ That is the male has a preemptive claim on the breadwinner role in the family.

According to the "resources theory" of family power, the male is dominant because he possesses greater education, greater potential money income, greater decision-making experience, and greater physical strength. It has also been suggested that the male has a lesser need to be loved than the female, thus he can use his resources more ruthlessly in a conflict over power. Actual conflict over power is rare in the family because over years the male's power has become "legitimized". Male dominance is accepted as part of the unquestioned social roles of husband and wife. Once legitimized, male dominance can continue even when the female actually possesses greater resources.

¹ See Sylvia Clavan, "Women's Liberation and the Family," Family Coordinator, 19 (Oct., 1970), pp.317-323; Karen I. Gergen, "Expectations Concerning Husband-Wife Responsibilities in the Home," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 33 (Aug., 1971), pp.349-352; Hortense M. Glenn, "Attitudes of Women Regarding Gainful Employment of Married Women," Journal of Home Economics, 51 (April, 1959), pp.247-252; Judith Long Lans, "A Feminist Review of the Marital Adjustment Literature: 'The Rape of the Lock,'" Journal of Marriage and the Family, 33 (Aug., 1971) pp.481-486.

There are also egalitarian marriages, a cultural ideal in recent times,² in which neither partner is noticeably dominant. Each partner is involved in the joint decision-making process. If the marriage is not egalitarian, the emergence of the partner dominant in decision-making is controlled by a complex series of factors falling into two general categories: personality and the relative bargaining positions of the partners.³

In some societies, male dominance ideology varies according to social norms, traditions or religious factors. Married women allow their husbands to make decisions in major household matters because of the belief that they know better than their wives and of social tradition which compel them to stay at home. This holds true among the Chinese minority group in the Thai metropolitan areas, especially if there is no economic motivation for them to go to work. The Muslims also put a taboo on working women.

Normally, the Thai family consists of 5.5 persons. The household structure is a nuclear type. About one-fifth of all families in the whole country consist of 8 persons per family. In the past fifty years, 79 per cent of Thai women over 50 years had no education while 65 per cent of men of the same age finished lower primary school.

² Richard H. Klemmer, Marriage and Family Relationships, Harper and Row Publishers, N.Y., 1970, p.182.

³ Ibid., pp.179.

This resulted from the fact that the monks were the only educators at that time, and that Thai culture forbid women to have close communication with men. Thus the male has been responsible for leadership in the family. He would take major role in most decisions, for instance, decisions on labor supply and household activities, while his wife takes only a supportive role and makes petty housekeeping decisions such as food purchases.

Table 1

A survey about decision-making
of Thai rural families

kinds of decisions	decision maker			
	husband and wife (per cent)	husband only (per cent)	wife only (per cent)	others (per cent)
1. decisions about the children's future (their education, household labor delegated to them, etc.)	58	27	13	
2. decisions about planning their family life (planning for every family member).	57	3	36	4
3. decisions to borrow money	40	40	15	5
4. decisions about selling products	50	22	17	11
5. decisions to start family planning	57	3	36	4

Source: National Council of Thai Women and
Thammasat University, A Survey on the
Status of Thai Women in Rural Areas.
(September, 1977), pp.36-38, 46.

There was no study about the exact husband-wife decision-making pattern in Thailand until 1977. A survey about the status of Thai women in rural areas, conducted in the two provinces namely Cha-Choeng-Sao and Lumpang reveals some interesting information about female decision-making.

Page 7 table 1 indicates that Thai married women are entitled to make joint decisions with their husbands in almost every matter concerning family welfare. It might be surprising to note that, when asked if they went to elect representatives to the Parliament, and how their decisions were reached, 83 per cent (of 833 respondents) said they went and made their own decisions without consulting their husband. Only 2 per cent followed their husbands' advice. And when asked whether it was a good idea to let their husbands make decisions concerning family matters all by themselves, 71 per cent of the interviewed women disagreed. However, this survey was conducted only in two provinces, the central region and the northern part. The respondents were all rural women; the male played the least part. Moreover, a research carried out in Malaysia (Kedah state) and in Chiang Mai province had shown that decisions about family planning were decided by both husband and wife.⁴ Thus male and female help in the decision-making process equally. One would rather assume that in metropolitan areas, where both male and female get higher education, decision-making pattern is shared by both.

In recent times, an increasing number of women have been able to combine homemaking with outside employment. Women now make up more than one-third of the world's economically active population, and 46 out of every 100 women of working age are in the labor force.

⁴ Tang Yong Moy and Uraivan Tan Kim Yong, "The Position of Women and their Contribution to Rural Productive Efforts: A Comparison of two Case Studies in Thailand and Malaysia," Asian Regional Workshop on "The Role of Women in Contributing to Family Income," July, 1976, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bangkok, June, 1977, p.103.

Over the past decade, there has been an increase in the number and proportion of married women in the work force. In Canada, in 1972, married women make up 57 per cent of the female labor force and one-third of all married women in the total population were in the labor force, as compared with one-fifth in 1962. In the United States the same year, married women constituted 58 per cent of all working women. In Australia in 1973, there was 62.5 per cent of married woman workers as against 48 per cent in 1966.⁵ The world's female participation rate in 1970 was 30 per cent, 32.5 per cent for industrialized countries and 28.5 per cent for developing countries.⁶

In Thailand, it has been traditional for women to work in order to contribute to family income, both in urban and rural areas. Modern and legal changes allow women workers an equal-to-men opportunity to proceed to high positions in the professions and non-agricultural industries. Women are in almost every occupation, e.g., law, medicine, teaching in higher education, etc. They are appointed to as high positions as ministers, secretary general, or even judges, for, according to the Thai laws, women's rights are equal to that of men.

The Thai female labor force participation was 73 per cent,⁷ the highest in comparison with her Southeast Asian neighbors, and also one of the highest in the world.

⁵ Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers, Report VIII of International Labor Conference, 60th Session, 1975.

⁶ Suwannee Chitranukroh, "Female Labor Force Participation Rate in Thailand," Thesis for a Master Degree, University of Philippines, 1975, p.11.

⁷ Ibid., p.47.

The number of women coming into the work force increased every year, from 5 million in the year 1954 to 7 million in 1968.⁸ Out of this number, .75 million were in municipal areas and the other 6.4 millions were in non-municipal areas.

The past decade saw an increasing number of children of both sexes in rural and urban areas entering higher education. Although there were less girls than boys in both primary and secondary levels,⁹ the number of women graduates each year in the university level is almost equal to that of men graduates.

As for women's contribution to family income, the United States census in 1964 revealed that in about 40 per cent of the cases the wife's contribution was less than one-fifth of family income. In an additional 36 per cent the wife contributed between 20-40 per cent of family income and in the remaining 26 per cent she contributed more than 40 per cent. In Malaysia, women in rural areas contributed approximately 25 per cent of household wage earnings, whereas their urban counterparts accounted for about 22 per cent. Indian women also contributed 34 per cent of household wage earnings while the Chinese contributed 24 per cent. In Thailand, women working to augment the family income is common.¹⁰ Traditionally they were in rural agricultural sector, since role of women in the professions and non-agricultural industries in the modern sector is only recent. They are seen to work all stages of family cycle, before and after marriage, in rural or urban sector.

⁸ Family Responsibility of the Thai Women, Document of Department of Labor, Ministry of Interior, 1971, p.1.

⁹ National Council of Thai Women, op. cit., p.3.

¹⁰ Amphorn Neesook, "Welcome Address," Asian Regional Workshop, op. cit., p.40.

Table 2

Employed women by martial status in
municipal and non-municipal areas

Martial status	municipal areas		non-municipal areas	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Single	323	43.8	2,303	35.8
Married	334	45.2	3,605	56.0
Widow	51	7.0	344	5.4
Divorced, separated	29	4.0	183	2.8
Total	737	100.0	6,435	100.0

Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime

Minister, Report of the Labor Force Survey (1967, 1968).

A survey¹¹ of the attitudes of married woman workers in five regions of the country revealed that more than 90 per cent of women workers had to work in order to improve their family economic condition.

According to annual survey of National Statistical Office, females employed within their broad occupational groupings earned less than males.¹² There are no records about the amount of money females contributed to their family income. It has been known only that families in the central region and in the southern part of Thailand have highest money incomes than in other regions (except in Bangkok and Thonburi areas).¹³

¹¹ Family Responsibility of the Thai Women, op. cit., p. 10.

¹² National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, Report on the Social and Economic Status of the Labor Force (1976-1977).

¹³ Family Responsibility of the Thai Women, op. cit., p. 13.

Table 3
Employed Persons By
Occupation and Sex

OCCUPATION	SEX		TOTAL
	Male	Female	
Professional and Technical	244,860	192,540	437,400
Administrative	147,640	20,530	168,170
Clerical	213,990	114,280	328,270
Sales	754,850	1,047,530	1,802,380
Farming	4,367,480	2,640,090	7,007,570
Transport	542,590	24,300	566,890
Craftsmen	1,660,510	1,037,820	2,698,330
Service, Sport, Recreation Worker	319,350	315,410	634,760
Unemployed	-	40	40
TOTAL	8,251,270	5,392,540	13,643,810

Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the
Prime Minister, Final Report of the Labor
Force Survey (July-September, 1974).

We have studied family power structure so far that one would want to know whether women's employment affects their roles in family decision, or whether her economic contribution has any impact on the existing family power structure.

Table 4

AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS(Baht)

Occupational group	Female		Male	
	Government	Private	Government	Private
Medical workers	1,247	910	-	-
Teachers	1,780	1,361	2,731	1,904
Stenos and typists	1,075	1,496	-	-
Bookkeepers and cashiers	1,515	1,556	1,619	1,806
General clerical workers	1,440	1,363	1,551	1,608
Caretakers and cleaners	992	810	1,236	850
Protective services workers	-	-	1,557	1,083
Mechanics	-	-	1,621	1,194
Vehicle drivers	-	-	1,552	1,436
General labourers	1,050	585	1,089	860
Production workers	-	749	-	1,167
Construction workers	-	784	-	1,143

Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the

Prime Minister, Report on the Social and

Economic Status of the Labor Force (1976-1977).

Again, little has been known about the impact on the Thai families, but in the United States, much work has been done on this. Lois W. Hoffman's study¹⁴ carried out in Detroit, Michigan with the total samples of 324 intact Detroit families investigated the effects of the married woman's outside employment on task participation, routine decision-making and power structure in the family. The results were as follows:

1. The working wife participated less than non-working wife and the husband participated more;
2. The working wife made fewer decisions about routine household matters than non-working wife and their husband made more; and
3. The working wife had more power than non-working wife.

Blood¹⁵ also found that the power structure of marriage shifted in the direction of a greater voice for the wife in major economic decisions and a lesser voice in routine household decisions. Neither shift, however, meant that one partner was pushed around by the other. Rather, decision-making roles adapted naturally to the new economic and housekeeping roles of the partners.

Kligler's study showed that the working wife influenced family decisions on major purchases, loans, savings, and investments to a greater extent than did the non-working wife.¹⁶

¹⁴ Lois W. Hoffman, "Parental Power Relations and the Division of Household Tasks," in the Employed Mother in America, Rand McNally and Company, Chicago, 1963, p.229.

¹⁵ Robert O. Blood, "The Husband-wife Relationship," Ibid., pp.303-304.

¹⁶ David M. Heer, "Dominance and the Working Wife" Ibid., p.251.

There were also other studies in the United States which pointed out that in both working and middle classes the working wife exerted more influence in decision-making than the non-working wife. She was also more apt to dominate family affairs than the non-working wife.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter will focus on data collection and data analyses.

A. Data Collection

The procedures involved in data collection are designing the interview schedule and pretest, selection and training of interviewers and identifying the sampling techniques.

1. A Design of Interview Schedule and Pretest

One of the most difficult parts of survey research is designing a good questionnaire or interview schedule. A good one must include the proper questions to elicit the required data from the subjects being investigated so that no ambiguity arises because of deficient or omitted questions. Kerlinger developed criteria of question-writing.¹ Some of the most important criteria are: Is the question related to the research problem and the research objective? Does the question demand knowledge and information that the respondent does not have? Is the type of question right and appropriate? Is the item clear and unambiguous? Is the question a leading one? And finally, does the question demand personal and delicate material that the respondent may resist?

Taking these criteria into account, an interview schedule was formulated consisting of about 100 items which covered a wide range of topics, namely social and economic characteristics, aspects of "life styles," knowledge, attitudes, and practices of family planning, wife's employment and decision patterns.

¹ Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1973).

A pretest was undertaken to try out the interview schedule to see how it worked -- whether changes were necessary before the start of the full-scale study. The pretest provided a means of catching and solving unforeseen problems in the use of the interview schedule, the phrasing and sequence of questions, and the length of the interview. Another valuable part of the pretest interview was discussion of the questions with respondents after they had answered them. The respondents were asked what the question meant to them, what difficulties they experienced in replying, what further ideas they had that were not brought out by the question, how they would ask the question, what their feelings were on a question when they responded "don't know," etc. The pretest of 30 interviews resulted in some necessary modifications to the original interview schedule which made it more effective and directly relevant to the Thai social context. For example, if asked whether they were presently working, answers would be sometimes "no" even though they have been doing something to earn their living. Obviously, they defined the word "working" as working in the office, or working for wages or salaries. Hence, the question had to be modified to mean what they do for a living.

2. Selecting and Training of Interviewers

Ten female graduate students from the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, Mahidol University, were selected for training. There were three meetings held in the training of interviewers.

The first meeting dealt with a brief orientation lecture, explaining the principles of survey research, describing the background, purposes of this study and the basic principles of interviewing and stressing the importance of careful, accurate interviewing. The interviewers were reminded that their manner should be friendly, courteous, conversational and unbiased. They should be neither too grim nor too effusive, neither too talkative nor too timid. The idea should be to put a respondent at ease, so that she will talk freely and fully. A brief remark about the family

pets or especially children will often serve to break the ice. Above all, an informal, conversational interview is dependent upon a thorough mastery by the interviewers of the actual questions on the survey. They should be familiar to ask them informally, rather than read them stiffly; and they should know what questions are coming next, so that there will be no awkward pauses while they ask the question.

They were also told that the interviewer's job was fundamentally that of a reporter, not an evangelist, a curiosity-seeker, or a debator. They should take all opinions in stride and never show surprise or disapproval of a respondent's answer. They should assume an interested manner toward their respondent's opinions and never divulge their own. The interviewers must keep the direction of the interview in their own hands, discouraging irrelevant conversation and endeavoring to keep the respondent on point.

During the second and the third meetings, the interview schedule was studied in detail, going through the schedule question by question, explaining its purpose, and commenting on the possible difficulties or misunderstandings which may arise. A demonstration interview conducted before the class proved to be of utmost usefulness as preparation for the real operation.

3. Description of the Population and Sampling Techniques

The geographical area included in the study is the city of Ayudhya. It is the former capital city of Thailand, situated about 60 kilometers north of Bangkok.

Due to the modernizing process, Ayudhya has become somewhat unique when compared to the rest of the country. The people are relatively well educated. They are more exposed to mass media and influenced by the National Family Planning Program created under the Ministry of Public Health following a declaration of a formal

National Population Policy by the Cabinet in March of 1970.² We found from the survey that 95.6 per cent of respondents approved family planning, and the average number of children ever born to married women aged 20-45 was 2.4 as compared with the national level of 4.3.³ Hence, we are dealing with a population who mostly approve the concept of limiting family size and exhibit low fertility.

Employing the legal definition of "municipality," the city area was stratified by municipal and non-municipal areas. Within the municipal area, up-to-date maps from the municipality were procured for the population area and were used to divide the area into five clusters of dwelling units. The primary criteria used in defining these clusters were that they should be easily identifiable in terms of "Tambon" (sub-district), streets, and canals, and they should contain all portions of the population area.

One cluster was randomly selected. The sampling cluster was then divided into ten blocks or ten sections. In each of the ten blocks, the interviewers were instructed to choose a random starting point and to select every fifth dwelling unit in accordance with procedures of systematic selection, and to interview currently married women, living with husbands, of the ages 20-45. If more than one eligible woman lived in a household, one was selected on a random basis. In case a woman eligible for an interview was not at home at the time contacted by an interviewer, the second visit was made. And if there was no eligible woman in the selected household, the interviewers were instructed to select the next-door dwelling unit.

Using household maps prepared by the City Malaria Control Unit, Ministry of Public Health, the same sampling procedures were also applied to non-municipal areas, except that the interviewers were instructed to select every fourth dwelling unit, instead of every fifth one, in the designated blocks.

² Ministry of Public Health, Family Planning in Thailand 1965-1970 (Bangkok; Sirivitaya Co., Ltd., 1971), p. 23.

³ John Knodel and Visid Prachuabmon, "Demographic Aspects of Fertility in Thailand," Population Studies, Vol. XXVIII, No.3 (November, 1974), p.434.

Of 800 questionnaires distributed, 776 interviews were completed. The remarkably high response rate on this survey was not unusual for carefully conducted surveys in Thailand. The quality and organization of the interviewing staff might have contributed to the success of the field operation. The time spent on each interview was approximately one and a half hours. As reported by the interviewers, the respondents were very cooperative. There was no outright refusal, but some women were reluctant to answer some intimate questions or to name certain contraceptive methods that they knew of, obviously due to shyness. However, by virtue of employing female interviewers, most answers were eventually obtained.

The completed interview schedules were revised, verified, coded, and the data were punched on IBM cards. This was done in preparation for use of the computer.

B. Data Analysis

The units of analysis in the study are individuals categorized by socio-economic, life style, and KAP (knowledge, attitude, and practice of family planning) differences. For each of major categories of independent variables, bivariate relationships are examined. Next, for each of the major categories, a multivariate analysis (MCA) is presented to assess the combined effects of the various independent variables.

A concept of female status is explored in the final chapter, followed by a description of the Thai family system. Finally, an attempt is made to explain relationships between wife's employment and her role in family decision-making.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND FERTILITY

There is much interest in and importance attached to the notions with respect to the differences in the rate of reproduction of various segments of a population. Even greater significance is attached by some to any differentials, between the fertility of those in the lower social and economic classes and those in the middle and upper classes of their respective societies.

Historically, two viewpoints concerning the relationship of class levels to the birth rate prevailed. The first, apparently derived deductively from the principles formulated by Thomas R. Malthus at the close of the eighteenth century, holds that increases in socio-economic status promote higher fertility; and the second, usually associated with those who have employed the "demographic transition" as a conceptual device, implies that improvements in status tend to inhibit fertility.¹ However, the relationship seems to be considerably more complicated than either position would have it. The direct and early effect of economic improvement in a society often may be the stimulation of fertility to higher levels, but such factors as a rise in the overall level of education and reductions in infant mortality, which ordinarily are parts of the entire set of changes designated as socio-economic development, seem to have a depressing effect on rates of reproduction.² Moreover, when these are joined by the awareness on the part of individual couples that their economic standing may be enhanced if family size is limited,

¹ David M. Heer, "Economic Development and Fertility," Demography, Vol. III, No. 2 (1966), pp. 423-444.

² Ibid., pp. 439-440.

increases in status often are allied with decreases in rates of reproduction. Therefore, the relationship between socio-economic status and fertility levels may vary widely from one country to another, from one group to another or from one period of time to another within the same society.

There are two measures of fertility used in this study, i.e., expected family size and index of fertility preference. As a basis of analysis, we shall first look at the relationships of these dependent variables with each of the six independent socio-economic status variables, namely, wife's education, husband's education, husband's occupation, family income, land ownership and ownership of durable goods.

Socio-economic Factors and Expected Family Size

The expected family size ranges from 0 to 9 with the mean of 3.34. More than a half of the sample indicates an expected family size of 2 or 3. Employing the analysis of variance, the expected family size is broken down by each of the socio-economic status variables in the following tables.

1. Wife's Education

Table 1. Expected family size by wife's education

Formal schooling (years)	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
0 - 4	3.626	59.4 (454)	7.146 ⁺⁺
5 - 12	2.959	31.2 (246)	
13 and over	2.868	9.4 (76)	
Total	3.340	100.0 (776)	

Note: For all tables, ⁺ = significant at .05,
and ⁺⁺ = significant at the .01 level.

The analysis of wife's education indicates that 59.4 per cent have less than 5 years of education, and 9.4 per cent continued their study after finishing high school. Those who earned a college degree constitute about 4 per cent of the sample.

Figures on Table 1 show that wife's education is negatively related to expected family size. In other words, we found that the higher the educational attainment the smaller the expected fertility they exhibit. Differences of means are statistically significant at the .01 level.

2. Husband's Education

Table 2. Expected family size by husband's education

Formal schooling (years)	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
0 - 4	3.735	39.6 (302)	7.657 ^{**}
5 - 12	3.237	39.1 (304)	
13 and over	2.824	21.3 (70)	
Total	3.340	100.0 (776)	

On the average, education of husband is higher than that of the wife. Only 39.6 per cent of the husbands completed 4 years of formal schooling or less, whereas 21.3 per cent had more than 12 years of education including about 9 per cent who obtained college degrees.

Table 2 indicates that educational attainment of the husbands is negatively associated with expected family size. The relationship is even stronger than that of the previous case; it is significant at .01.

The results of the analysis, shown in Tables 1 and 2, are consistent with the Longitudinal Study in which Knodel and Pitaktepsombati found a strong inverse relationship between years of schooling and actual fertility within the total rural and total urban samples of married Thai women.³ They also agree with Prasithrathsin's findings.⁴

3. Husband's Occupation

Table 3. Expected family size by husband's occupation

Kind of work	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Farming and traditional	3.533	32.6 (244)	4.734 ⁺⁺
Non-traditional	3.429	46.1 (354)	
Professional	2.807	21.3 (166)	
Total	3.327	100.0 (764)	

For purposes of analysis, husband's occupation is stratified into three categories: 32.6 per cent farmers and traditional employees; 46.1 per cent non-traditional occupations; and 21.3 per cent professionals. There is an inverse relationship between occupation and expected family size, statistically significant at

³ John Knodel and Pichit Pitaktepsombati, "Thailand: Fertility and Family Planning among Rural and Urban Women," Studies in Family Planning, Vol. IV, No. 9 (September, 1973), pp. 237-238.

⁴ Suchart Prasithrathsin, Some Factors Affecting Fertility and Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of Family Planning Among Rural Thai Women (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1973), p. 45.

the .01 level. This table suggests that as husbands move higher along occupational levels, fertility consistently declines.

It should be noted that a high degree of association between occupation and education (.54) is found in the study. Thus, in all of these comparisons, educational attainment undoubtedly is one component in accounting for the differences.

The result conforms to the hypothesis and a study by Spiegelman who found that women whose husbands were employed on the farm, either as farmers and farm managers or as farm laborers, had the largest families on an average.⁵

4. Family Income

Table 4. Expected family size by family income

Monthly income (Baht)	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
100 - 1000	3.622	23.6 (180)	
1001 - 1500	3.184	26.9 (206)	
1501 - 2500	3.284	26.1 (204)	
2501 and over	3.301	23.4 (181)	
Total	3.340	100.0 (776)	1.044

Family income is classified into four groups with almost equal numbers of respondents. Table 4 indicates that the income group of Baht 100 - 1000 has an average expected family size of 3.6. The mean drops to 3.1 in the second income group, and steadily

⁵ Mortimer Spiegelman, Introduction to Demography (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 271.

creeps up to 3.2 and 3.3 as family income increases. The mean differences are not significant. However, there is reason to believe that the lowest income group exhibits the highest fertility. These people are living at the subsistence level and are usually not too concerned about the burden of an added child. As income increases, families can better manage their household budget and are more "economic-minded." An additional child is considered more of a liability. Once family attain a secure and higher income level, their expected family size expands as they can afford larger families.

This finding is somewhat consistent with the fertility differential in the United States where Bogue found that the extremely poor and the wealthy have higher fertility levels, while the middle classes tend to have the lowest fertility. He asserted that, traditionally, the relationship has been inverse: the poorer the family, the greater the number of children it tended to have. Since 1945 there seems to have occurred a marked change in this pattern. With modern birth control readily available to all, the poor and the middle classes seem to be curtailing their fertility and leaving the bearing of larger families to the group that can afford it best -- the rich.⁶ The analysis suggests that Chiangmai city might have begun to replicate this fertility pattern as it is undergoing the modernization process.

The majority of our respondents, 72.2 per cent, are landless. This group has an average expected family size of 3.4 which is the highest when compared to the other two groups who own some land.

⁶ Donald J. Bogue, Principles of Demography (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969), p. 704.

5. Land Ownership

Table 5. Expected family size by land ownership

Land ownership (rai)	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
0	3.416	72.2 (562)	
1 - 5	3.334	15.9 (122)	
6 and over	2.837	11.9 (92)	
Total	3.340	100.0 (776)	1.836

Figures on Table 5 suggests that the relationship between land ownership and the expected family size is negative and linear. Due to small variation, however, the statistical test indicates that there are no overall significant differences among the three groups.

6. Ownership of Durable Goods

Table 6. Expected family size by ownership of durable goods

Durable goods (items)	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
0 - 3	3.617	30.1 (230)	
4 - 6	3.390	34.9 (272)	
7 - 9	3.058	35.0 (274)	
Total	3.340	100.0 (776)	3.135 ⁺

On the basis of responses to questions concerning the possession of certain household items and consumer durables, it is possible to roughly rank the respondents according to their material wealth

which may reflect their socio-economic status. Three groups have been differentiated. The analysis shows that expected family size of the three groups differs significantly from one another at the .05 level. The highest socio-economic status group tends to exhibit the lowest fertility. The finding agrees with Prasithrathsin's study of factors affecting fertility among rural Thai women. He found that those who had the highest material possession scores were the group who had the lowest fertility, and those who scored less had higher fertility.⁷

The three independent socio-economic variables that are most significant in terms of their relationship with expected fertility, i.e., wife's education, husband's occupation and ownership of durable goods were selected for multiple classification analysis. This is done to investigate the pattern of change as a result of a given independent variable and to obtain a better conceptual understanding of relationship between these three indicators of socio-economic status and fertility expectation while controlling for age and place of residence.

Table 8 shows that when the confounding effects of husband's occupation and ownership of durable goods are controlled, there remains less differential expected family size as explained by wife's education. The means of expected family size of the first two educational categories, i.e., 0 to 4 and 5 to 12 years of schooling, remain almost unchanged whereas that of the most educated group increases from 2.87 to 3.12. This produces a somewhat curvilinear relationship between wife's education and expected family size.

⁷ Prasithrathsin, op. cit., p. 67.

Table 7. Correlation coefficients of the socio-economic independent variables, namely, wife's education(WE), husband's education(HE), husband's occupation(HO), family income(FI), land ownership(LO), ownership of durable goods(ODG); the dependent variables, namely, expected family size(EFS), preferred family size(PFS); and the covariates of age(AGE) and place of residence(PR)

VARIABLE	WE	HE	HO	FI	LO	ODG	EFS	PFS	PR	AGE
WE		.624	.426	.482	.258	.455	-.177	-.076	-.116	-.123
HE			.545	.510	.304	.456	-.193	-.117	-.066	-.183
HO				.326	.254	.273	-.138	-.089	-.143	-.088
FI					.215	.600	-.050	-.143	-.165	.072
LO						.188	-.089	-.002	-.077	-.001
ODG							-.125	-.012	-.015	-.011
EFS								.192	.029	.369
PFS									.019	.168
PR										-.129
AGE										

Table 8. Expected family size by wife's education, husband's occupation, and ownership of durable goods, controlled for age and place of residence

(MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS)

Variable & Category	Means unadjusted	ETA	Means adjusted for independent variables	BETA	Means adjusted for independent	BETA	N
<u>Wife's Education</u>							
0 - 4	3.62		3.55		3.37		452
5 - 12	2.93		2.98		3.25		238
13 and over	2.87	0.20	3.12	0.15	3.33	0.03	74
<u>Husband's Occupation</u>							
Farming & traditional	3.54		3.44		3.36		244
Non-traditional	3.43		3.41		3.47		354
Professional	2.81	0.16	3.00	0.10	2.98	0.11	166
<u>Durable Goods</u>							
0 - 3	3.55		3.34		3.51		226
4 - 6	3.41		3.39		3.33		268
7 - 9	3.06	0.12	3.27	0.03	3.18	0.08	270
Multiple R				.216		.455	
Multiple R Squared				.047		.207	

Husband's occupation loses some of its explanatory power when wife's education and possession of durable goods are controlled. Yet, the linear pattern still exists. Figures on Table 8 shows that farmers and traditional employees decrease their expected fertility from 3.54 to 3.44 and non-traditional employees slightly reduce from 3.43 to 3.41 while professionals increase the expected fertility from 2.81 to 3.00.

Expected family size differences by ownership of durable goods which were linear almost disappear when controlling for wife's education and husband's occupation. It shows that, after adjusting for effects of the two independent variables, the means of the first, the second and the third groups are 3.34, 3.39, and 3.27 respectively.

When the covariates, i.e., age and place of residence, are inserted into the analysis, the effect of wife's education diminishes almost completely. Husband's occupation fundamentally maintains its pattern and strength of relationship.

As regards to ownership of durable goods, the pattern of a negatively linear relationship is strengthened when age and place of residence have been controlled.

It is interesting to note that the main effect of the covariates is due to age rather than place of residence because, as shown on Table 7, age is positively correlated with expected family size (.37); it is significant at .01. But no relationship is found between expected family size and place of residence.

We can conclude from the above analysis that, after controlling for age and place of residence and factoring out the confounding effects of the other independent variables, the "pure" effect of socio-economic status tends to be negatively related to expected fertility. A combination of these three indicators of socio-economic status plus age and place of residence can explain about 21 per cent of the variance. By itself, socio-economic status can explain only 5 per cent of the variance.

CHAPTER V

LIFE STYLES AND FERTILITY

Although man is extremely fecund, his reproductive rate seldom, if ever, equals his capacity to reproduce. Among all peoples, reproductive behavior is far from a strictly biological phenomenon. Numerous social taboos interfere with the sex act and therefore with fertility. In highly differentiated civilizations, and especially among their more sophisticated classes, reproduction is carefully controlled. Strength of the sex urge is no index of its effective exercise in producing offspring, since much of social ritual is designed to sublimate, harness, and direct the sex impulse, which is the basis of reproductive behavior.¹

Working, then, on the initial assumption that high fecundity of the human race is no index whatsoever of its reproductive behavior, an interpretation of fertility must be made in terms of dynamic social variables rather than of relatively static biological variables.

One of the most powerful influences in determining the actual exercise of the reproductive power within marriage is the set of values that predominate in a given culture. The fertility rate is a reflection of many influences in the socio-cultural milieu which motivate the family.

Within a certain society, fertility rates differ from one sub-group to another. Important factors influencing a fertility differential are "life style" differences. A "life style" is an

¹ Paul H. Landis and Paul K. Hatt, Population Problems: A Cultural Interpretation (New York: American Book Company, 1954), p. 156.

articulation of individual behavior in responses to regularities in the social aggregate system² which reflects, or is conditioned by, personal values, attitudes, and beliefs. "Life style" signifies the way people spend their daily life, the way they think, and the way they act. Freedman asserted that differences in "life styles" may influence any of the norms or intermediate variables affecting fertility.³

This chapter will explore an impact of "life style" variables, i.e., age at marriage, newspaper readership, wife's movie attendance, husband's movie attendance, joint leisure activity (movies), work experience after marriage, type of family, dependency obligation, future planning, household budget and control own future destiny on expected family size.

The analysis will begin with an investigation of individual "life-style" characteristics as they relate to expected family size. A combination of certain "life-style" variables will be further attempted to see how they behave together in affecting fertility.

"Life-Style" Variables and Expected Family Size

1. Age at Marriage

Davis and Blake classified age at marriage as one of the factors affecting exposure to intercourse ("intercourse variables").⁴

² The term "social aggregate system" was used by Thomas R. Ford and Gordon F. De Jong, eds., Social Demography (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p.10.

³ Ronald C. Freedman, "The Sociology of Human Fertility," in Ibid., p. 47.

⁴ Kingsley Davis and Judith Blake, "Social Structure and Fertility: An Analytic Framework," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. IV, No. 2 (April, 1956), p. 221.

This is an important concept in a fertility study, implying that the younger the age at marriage the longer the risk to reproduction. On a crude basis, persons who are married at an unusually young age tend to have above-average fertility.⁵ Etienne von de Walle had previously discussed various reasons for expecting a negative association between age at marriage and cumulative fertility.⁶

Table 1. Expected family size by age at marriage

Age at marriage	Mean	Per cent (N)	<i>f</i>
15 - 19	3.424	44.3 (340)	
20 - 22	3.626	34.1 (262)	
23 - 36	2.711	21.6 (166)	
Total	3.339	100.0 (768)	7.121**

The analysis shows that 44.3 per cent of respondents entered their marital union early in the reproductive cycle. Only 21.6 per cent got married at the age of 23 or over. The average age at marriage of 20.6 found in this survey is consistent with a previous study in Thailand where Prachuabmoh et al. reported a modal or normative marriage age of 20 or 21.⁷

⁵ Donald J. Bogue, Principles of Demography (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969), p. 719.

⁶ For more detail, see Etienne von de Walle, "Age at Marriage and Fertility," Medical Bulletin, Vol. VII, No. 3 (1973), pp. 1-2

⁷ Visid Prachuabmoh et al., The Rural and Urban Population of Thailand: Comparative Profiles (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1972), cited by John Knodel and Pichit Pitaktesombati, "Thailand: Fertility and Family Planning among Rural and Urban Women," Studies in Family Planning, Vol. IV, No. 9 (September, 1973), p. 233.

Table 1 indicates that women who married at ages 20-22 exhibit the highest fertility as compared with the younger and the older marriages. It is evident that women who started their marriage life relatively late (23 or over) expect considerably lower fertility in comparison to the earlier-marriage groups. The inverse association between age at marriage and expected family size is moderately strong; it is significant at .01. This, of course, conforms to general expectations and the hypothesis.

2. Newspaper Readership

Newspaper is a secondary source of information that links the individual to the outside world. It is a channel by which one can be exposed to mass media. The one who reads newspaper or newsmagazine frequently will be better informed as compared to the less frequent readers. A regular reading of newspaper characterizes a "modern life style." It is hypothesized that a high exposure to mass media is associated with a low fertility.

Table 2. Expected family size by newspaper readership

Newspaper reading	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Very often	3.154	67.0 (508)	7.151 ⁺⁺
Less often	3.664	33.0 (250)	
Total	3.322	100.0 (758)	

The majority, 67.0 per cent, of respondents read newspapers or newsmagazines almost everyday. This group indicates an expected family size of 3.15 as compared with 3.66 of those who read less. There is moderately strong negative relationship between frequency of newspaper readership and expected fertility; it is significant at .01.

3. Wife's Movie Attendance

In this context, a movie is important not only as an entertainment, but also as a form of mass media. A movie-goer has to go out away from home, and, in most cases, meet friends or make new friends. Usually before the main show, there are national and international news as well as commercials. It is expected that there will be a negative relationship between frequency of movie attendance and fertility.

Table 3. Expected family size by wife's movie attendance

Movie attendance	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Once a month	2.878	42.1 (312)	
Once in few months	3.390	44.2 (338)	
Once a year or less	4.235	13.7 (102)	
Total	3.291	100.0 (742)	12.875 ⁺⁺

Respondents were asked how often they go to movies, and three categories were constructed based on a frequency of attendance. Table 3 demonstrates a linear pattern of relationship between the two variables, the less frequent attendance is strongly associated with the high expected family size. The differences are significant at the .01 level.

In comparison, husbands go to movies more often than wives. This reflects a traditionally male-dominated family where a husband seeks his own pleasure in addition to what is shared with his wife. Table 4 indicates that there is a moderately strong negative relationship between husband's movie attendance and expected family size; it is significant at .01.

4. Husband's Movie Attendance

Table 4. Expected family size by husband's movie attendance

Movie attendance	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Once a month	2.857	47.5 (350)	
Once in few months	3.470	35.9 (264)	
Once a year or less	3.967	16.6 (122)	
Total	3.261	100.0 (736)	11.267**

5. Joint Leisure Activity (movies)

Some hypotheses emphasize certain organizational requirements in the family for efficient fertility control and small families. For example, adequate communication between spouses and their organization for joint decisions have been cited as necessary means for efficient fertility control. An important study by Hill et al. reports that the absence of efficient familial organization is an important cause of the high fertility in Puerto Rico despite expressed interest by the population in much lower fertility.⁸ A more specific type of inter-spousal communication is a discussion about joint leisure activity.

Respondents were asked whether they and their husbands usually go to movies together. The responses show that 56.8 per cent of couples normally attend movies together whereas the remaining 43.2 per cent do not. It is evident that couples who have joint

⁸ Reuben Hill, J. Mayone Stycos, and Kurt W. Back, The Family and Population Control: A Puerto Rican Experience (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1959), cited by Ronald Freedman, "The Sociology of Human Fertility," in Thomas R. Ford and Gordon F. De. Jong, eds., op. cit., p.49.

leisure activity expect a smaller family as compared to those who usually go to movies separately. The differences are significant at .01.

Table 5. Expected family size by joint
leisure activity (movies)

Joint activity	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Yes	4.067	56.8 (416)	9.260 ⁺⁺
Sometimes or no	3.627	43.2 (316)	
Total	3.309	100.0 (732)	

This suggests that in a family where decision making and leisure activity are shared between husband and wife, there is the tendency to discuss joint activities including sexual intercourse and desired number of children, thus resulting in a smaller family. A further research investigation is, however, needed to confirm this assertion.

6. Work Experience after Marriage

There is systematic evidence that fertility declines as married women engage in non-familial activities, especially those which take them away from home. Presumably, her status depends on these other activities and less on her fertility. There is now evidence that the relationships run in both directions with some women working because they can have only few children and some having few children because they want to work. Freedman note that in high-fertility societies, the role of the wife is supplying personnel for all-important kinship unit is so important that her status is likely to depend on her ability to produce at least a minimum number.⁹

⁹ Ibid., p. 49.

Table 6. Expected family size by work
experience after marriage

Work experience	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Ever worked	3.388	57.5 (444)	0.014
Never	3.360	42.5 (328)	
Total	3.347	100.0 (727)	

Table 6 shows that 57.5 per cent have some work experience after marriage, and 42.5 per cent have never worked at all after entering into marriage. These two groups are not significantly different from one another. This unexpected finding is neither consistent with general expectation nor with the proposition advanced by Bogue that, whether as cause or effect, women who are employed have low fertility rates, while those who are not in the labor force have above-average rates.¹⁰

This finding could probably be explained by the notion that some of those who worked went to work in order to earn additional income to support their large families. And, the nature of work they are doing might not be incompatible with the role of mother and worker, therefore, no differential fertility of working wives and housewives could be found.

Asking whether family income is adequate for the normal household expenses. 39.6 per cent say "adequate," 31.1 per cent "just balanced," and 29.3 per cent "inadequate." The analysis shows that the better they feel the family can manage the budget, the lower the fertility they expect. The relationship is linear and significant at .01.

¹⁰ Bogue, op. cit., p. 719

7. Household Budget

Table 7. Expected family size by household budget

Budget situation	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Adequate	2.948	39.6 (206)	8.310 ⁺⁺
Just balanced	3.357	31.1 (240)	
Inadequate	3.841	29.3 (226)	
Total	3.342	100.0 (772)	

8. Type of family

Family structure is one of the important forces shaping "life styles" of couples. Freedman believed that fertility is higher to the extent that socially valued goals are achieved in kinship-based organizations and that the specific forms of kinship organization affect the fertility level in various ways. While the potential importance of hypotheses in this area is generally conceded, systematic research efforts are rare.¹¹ There is need for analysis of how fertility is affected by family type. It is hypothesized that a level of fertility in a nuclear family will be lower as compared to an extended family.

Table 8. Expected family size by type of family

Family type	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Nuclear	3.344	65.7 (506)	0.001
Extended	3.341	34.3 (264)	
Total	3.343	100.0 (770)	

¹¹ Ronald Freedman, "The Sociology of Human Fertility," in Thomas R. Ford and Gordon F. De Jong, eds., op. cit., p. 49.

In the present study, type of family is dichotomized into nuclear family and extended family. The survey shows that 65.7 per cent have nuclear families, and the remaining proportion of couples have extended families. It is evident from the above table that the expected family size of the two groups does not differ from one another. The finding does not support the hypothesis.

9. Future Planning

Table 9. Expected family size by future planning

Future planning	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Planned	3.182	70.2 (538)	7.232 ⁺
Unplanned	3.719	29.8 (228)	
Total	3.342	100.0 (766)	

Respondents were asked whether they normally plan their life ahead or not. About 70 per cent have planned for their future and about 30 per cent simply live from day to day. The results of the analysis on Table 9 demonstrate that women who usually have their life planned ahead expect a smaller family size as compared to those who have no future plan. The differences are quite large and statistically significant at .01. This is consistent with general expectations.

According to a question of attitude toward the control of own future destiny, 46.5 per cent of respondents are certain that, to some degree, their life could be under control whereas more than half of them do not believe they can shape their own destiny. The analysis indicates that women who are sure of themselves in controlling their own future expect smaller families as compared with those who think their future is beyond own control. These two groups significantly differ from one another at the .01 level.

10. Control Own Future Destiny

Table 10. Expected family size by control own future destiny

Future Control	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Under control	3.156	46.5 (346)	4.676 ⁺
Out of control	3.563	53.5 (398)	
Total	3.374	100.0 (744)	

11. Dependency Obligation (other than own children)

Table 11. Expected family size by dependency obligation

Dependency obligation	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
No dependent	3.494	68.7 (526)	5.825 ⁺
Having dependent (S)	3.017	31.3 (240)	
Total	3.345	100.0 (766)	

Respondents were asked whether they have any dependency obligation other than their own children to whom they give regular financial support. The analysis indicates that 68.7 per cent have no dependents, and 31.3 per cent have one dependent or more to support financially. Table 11 shows that women who have a dependency obligation expect lower fertility as compared to those who do not have to support anyone else other than their own children if any. The differences are significant at .05. However, we do not know whether expected family size is a cause or an effect of

dependency obligation. Some couples might be able to render financial support because their families are small, or they might have to limit family size primarily because their dependency obligation is quite burdensome. Either or both of the situations could be the case.

To further investigate the effects of "life-style" characteristics on expected family size, five independent "life-style" variables, namely, age at marriage, newspaper readership, husband's movie attendance, household budget, and future planning were chosen for multiple classification analysis. These variables were selected from a list of the eleven independent "life-style" variables using as a criterion their relatively high relationships with the dependent variable. Further, a correlation analysis indicates that the five independent variables are not highly intercorrelated with one another. Significant correlations exist only among a few variables as shown on Table 12. We, therefore, do not have the problem of multicollinearity in the multivariate analytical model.

A multiple classification analysis, shown on Table 13, suggests that the pattern of negative relationship between age at marriage and expected family size still exists after controlling the other four independent "life-style" variables. The strength of their relationship remains almost unchanged.

Controlling just for the other four independent variables, newspaper readership loses all of its explanatory power. The previous moderate relationship is no longer found between newspaper readership and expected family size. The linear relationship with husband's movie attendance is maintained when effects of the other independent variables are held constant. The mean expected family size of each category slightly fluctuates, thus decreasing the strength of relationship to some degree.

Differences in mean expected fertility by household budget are reduced when the controlling factors are taken into account. The linear relationship becomes weaker. When the same controls are

Table 12. Correlation coefficients of the independent "life-style" variables, namely, age at marriage(AM), newspaper readership(NR), wife's movie attendance(WMA), husband's movie attendance(HMA), joint leisure activity(JLA), work experience after marriage(WEM), household budget(HB), family type(FT), future planning(FP), control own future(COF), and dependency obligation(DO)

VARIABLE	AM	NR	WMA	HMA	JLA	WEM	HB	FT	FP	COF	DO
AM		-.094	-.069	-.043	-.167	-.188	-.188	.142	-.027	.025	.106
NR			.207	.140	.194	.023	.266	.010	.230	.229	-.075
WMA				.705	.258	.048	.221	.044	.078	.137	-.151
HMA					.246	.010	.188	.101	.103	.033	-.100
JLA						.049	.247	.008	.054	.157	-.133
WEM							.110	-.063	-.164	-.032	-.148
HB								.061	.101	.252	-.048
FT									.100	.116	.486
FP										.339	.022
COF											-.021
DO											

Table 13. Expected family size by age at marriage, newspaper readership, husband's movie attendance, household budget, and future planning, controlled for age and place of residence

(MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS)

Variable & Category	Means unadjusted	ETA	Means adjusted for independent variables	BETA	Means adjusted for independent and covariates	BETA	N
<u>Age at Marriage</u>							
15 - 19	3.27		3.23		3.48		302
20 - 22	3.58		3.58		3.54		250
23 - 36	2.66	0.19	2.75	0.18	2.51	0.23	150
<u>Newspaper Readership</u>							
Very often	3.11		3.21		3.23		484
Less often	3.56	0.12	3.34	0.03	3.29	0.02	218
<u>Husband's Movie Attendance</u>							
Once a month	2.85		2.91		2.99		342
Once in few months	3.43		3.41		3.45		252
Once a year or less	4.11	0.26	3.96	0.22	3.62	0.15	108
<u>Household Budget</u>							
Adequate	2.89		3.06		3.11		294
Just balanced	3.29		3.19		3.17		210
Inadequate	3.74	0.20	3.60	0.13	3.55	0.11	198
<u>Future Planning</u>							
Planned	3.14		3.18		3.20		516
Unplanned	3.54	0.10	3.44	0.07	3.38	0.05	186

Multiple R

.357
.128

.477
.228

applied to future planning, the mean expected family size of the group who plan for the future increases from 3.14 to 3.18, and that of the group who do not plan decreases from 3.54 to 3.44, thus minimizing the group differences.

It is interesting to note that the additive effects of these five independent "life-style" variables can explain about 13 per cent of the variance.

Now, let's assess "pure" effects of the independent variables when age and place of residence are further controlled. Interestingly, the variation in expected fertility by age at marriage becomes considerably larger when these two covariates are taken into consideration. We know that age has more effect on the dependent variable as compared to place of residence. It, then, suggests that, with adjustments made for other factor main effects, there is a higher degree of association between age at marriage and expected family size in every age group.

By contrast, no "net" effects of either newspaper readership or future planning are found when the differences in the other factors are controlled. The strength of relationship between husband's movie attendance and expected family size is consistently decreased. Differences by future planning also become smaller.

Age at marriage, by itself, is the most powerful independent "life-style" variable in explaining the differences in expected family size as compared to the other independent "life-style" variables in the analytical model. The joint additive effects of all five variables, plus the covariates, can explain as much as 23 per cent of the variance.

The strong inverse relationship between age at marriage and expected fertility suggests that one approach to reducing fertility might be through raising the age at marriage. The probability that fertility patterns can be deliberately manipulated by governmental

efforts is, of course, uncertain.¹²

¹²John Knodel, "Malthus Amiss: Marriage Restriction in 19th Century Germany," Social Science, Vol. XLVII, No. 1 (1972), pp. 40-45.

CHAPTER VI
KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES AND PRACTICE
OF FAMILY PLANNING AFFECTING FERTILITY LEVELS

In March 1970, the Thai Cabinet, after accepting a comprehensive report of the National Economic Development Board prepared in collaboration with the Ministry of Public Health and the Institute of Population Studies, declared an official national population policy, which called for lowering the high rate of growth through the practice of voluntary family planning. The Ministry of Public Health was authorized to implement and operate the National Family Planning Program. The program goal was to lower the national growth rate to 2.5 per cent per annum by 1975.¹

This chapter will attempt to assess how six KAP variables, i.e., knowledge of contraception, perception of large family, sex preference of children, attitude toward sex education in school, attitude toward legalization of abortion, and current practice of birth control, affect the expected family size of the sampled women.

A list of 16 contraceptive methods was prepared for questions on knowledge of contraception. To begin with, respondents were asked whether they have ever heard about any birth control devices. Any method they named was given a score of 2; if they know how to use, 3; if acceptable to them, 4; if they ever used, 5; and if they were currently using, a score of 6. The remaining items on the list which were not mentioned by the respondent would be coded 1

¹ John Knodel and Pichit Pitaktesombati, "Thailand: Fertility and Family Planning among Rural and Urban Women," Studies in Family Planning, Vol IV, No. 9 (September, 1973), p. 230.

KAP Variables and Expected Family Size1. Knowledge of Contraception

Table 1. Expected family size by knowledge of contraception

Knowledge level	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Low	3.374	34.6 (262)	0.019
Medium	3.331	34.3 (260)	
High	3.356	31.1 (236)	
Total	3.354	100.0 (758)	

Adding up total knowledge scores of each respondent, the range is from 16 to 55. For purpose of an analysis of variance, these knowledge scores are trichotomized into ordinal groups.

On the average, these women have a fairly good knowledge about contraception. Most common methods to them are IUD, pill, condom, injection, and female sterilization. Mauldin once observed that, in comparison with results of similar questions in surveys conducted elsewhere, knowledge of contraception was apparently more common among Thai women than among women in most other developing countries.²

It is worth noting that none of the respondents mentioned breast feeding in conjunction with the contraception even though there is a good reason to believe that quite a number of them

² W. Parker Mauldin, "Fertility Studies: Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practice," Studies in Family Planning, Vol. I, No. 7 (June, 1965), pp. 6-7.

practised or have been practising breast feeding. The connection between breast feeding and temporary infecundity is well documented, and the evidence has recently been reviewed by Van Ginneken.³

It has been established that prolonged breast feeding extends the period of post partum amenorrhea during which a mother is temporarily sterile following a birth. Thus, the effect of breast feeding is to delay conception.⁴

Table 1 clearly shows that mean expected family sizes of the three groups do not differ from one another. The result is inconsistent with the expectation. This might reflect a tendency for greater proportions of women in a modernizing city, where knowledge of contraceptive methods has been publicized, to learn more about contraception as they get older and are more in need of it and a tendency for younger women to be more exposed to modern ideas, of which contraception is one.⁵ Hence, currently-married women are relatively knowledgeable about birth control whatever family size they expect.

The question asked in the study is: "How many children would there be in a family before you would call it large?" The analysis indicates that women who perceive 2-4 children as a large family expect the lowest fertility as compared to the other two groups.

³ Jeroen Van Ginneken, "Prolonged Breastfeeding as a Birth Spacing Method," (mimeo) scheduled for publication in Studies in Family Planning, cited by John Knodel and Visid Prachuabmoh, "Demographic Aspects of Fertility in Thailand," Population Studies, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (November, 1974), p. 441.

⁴ Ibid., p. 442.

⁵ Knodel and Pitaktepsombati, op. cit., p. 244.

2. Perception of Large Family

Table 2. Expected family size by perception of large family

Perception of large family	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
2 - 4	2.647	22.2 (170)	17.456 ⁺⁺
5 - 6	3.142	40.5 (310)	
7 - 9	3.972	37.3 (286)	
Total	3.432	100.0 (766)	

There is a linear positive relationship between this particular attitude and the expected family size; it is significant at .01.

This is the perception or value expressed overtly by individuals to the normative influences operating within the society. The attitude also might be influenced by their own expectation. The study of family size preferences and contraceptive practices in lower and middle classes urban Americans led to Rainwater's conclusions that:

Looking at the total pattern of rationals for large and small families, we can abstract one central norm: one shouldn't have more children than one can support, but one should have as many as one can afford. To have lower is regarded as an expression of selfishness, ill health, or neurotic weakness; to have more is an expression of poor judgement or lack of discipline.

⁶ Lee Rainwater, Family Design (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965) p. 150.

This observation could be a good hypothesis for further perceptual studies of fertility behavior in Thailand.

3. Sex Preference for Children

Fertility may be affected by the requirement of a certain sex distribution among the children if the family is to function adequately. There is considerable evidence of preference for sons over daughters in many preindustrial societies, but in modern societies the evidence is not consistent as to preference for sons.⁷ Sex preference for any kind may increase fertility to produce the desired minimal sex distribution.

Table 3. Expected family size by
sex preference for children

Sex preference	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Preference	3.397	49.3 (378)	0.203
No preference	3.314	80.7 (388)	
Total	3.355	100.0 (766)	

Table 3 demonstrates that there is an equal proportion between women who express sex preference for children and those who are indifferent to it. The analysis shows that there is no significant relationship between sex preference for children and expected family size. The result does not conform to general expectations.

⁷ Ronald Freedman, "The Sociology of Human Fertility," in Social Demography, ed. by Thomas R. Ford and Gordon F. De Jong (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 49.

4. Attitude toward Sex Education in School

This variable is an indicator, among a variety of indices, of "modernity."⁸ Based on previous studies, an inverse relationship between attitude toward sex education in school and expected family size is anticipated.

Table 4. Expected family size by attitude
toward sex education in school

Sex education	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Approve	3.221	58.3 (444)	2.076
Disapprove	3.491	41.7 (318)	
Total	3.333	100.0 (762)	

In responses to a question on the opinion of sex education in school, 58.3 per cent approve it, whereas 41.7 per cent show disapproval. The above table suggests that women who think that sex education should be taught in school expect a lower fertility as compared to those who do not agree with the idea. This trend confirms the hypothesis; it is, however, not statistically significant.

⁸ The term "modernity" may be defined by a variety of indices, such as level of education, exposure to mass media, urban residence, type of occupation, or degree of adherence to religious or cultural traditions. The definition was given by James T. Fawcett, Psychology and Population: Behavioral Research Issues in Fertility and Family Planning (New York: The Population Council, 1970), p. 69.

5. Attitude toward Legalization of Abortion

Table 5. Expected family size by attitude toward legalization of abortion

Legalization of abortion	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Agree	2.949	49.0 (350)	18.668**
Disagree	3.764	51.0 (364)	
Total	3.364	100.0 (750)	

Respondents were asked whether they agree with legalizing abortions under six different reasons which were read out loud to them item by item. It is interesting to observe that more than 75 per cent of respondents approve a legal abortion if a woman is pregnant as a result of rape, or woman's health is endangered by a pregnancy. By contrast, only 36.4 per cent approve an abortion simply because couples want no more children. This trend is somewhat consistent with the NORC data.⁹

Based on responses to the six various conditions, they were dichotomized into "liberal" (agree) and "non-liberal" (disagree) groups. Table 5 demonstrates that women who are "liberal" about abortion exhibit a remarkably smaller expected family size as compared to the "non-liberal" group. The relationship is significant at the .01 level.

⁹ National Opinion Research Center, National Data Program for the Social Sciences (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1974), p. 53.

It should be noted that this attitude evaluation is a measure of modern values related to fertility control. And the result of the study supports Fawcett's postulation that, when individuals or populations are classified on a scale of modernity, an inverse relationship between modernity and fertility typically is found.¹⁰

6. Current Practice of Birth Control

Table 6. Expected family size by current practice of birth control

Birth control	Mean	Per cent (N)	F
Practising	3.288	61.8 (466)	0.279
Not practising	3.389	38.2 (288)	
Total	3.326	100.0 (754)	

As high as 61.8 per cent of respondents reported that they have been practising birth control, and, this group expects a slightly smaller family size as compared to the remaining 38.2 per cent who are not currently practising. However, the two groups are not significantly different from one another. The result is somewhat inconsistent with a previous study in Thailand by Prasithrathsin who reported that women who used birth control had a significantly smaller number of live births than those who did not.¹¹ His measure of fertility, however, differs from this study

¹⁰ Fawcett, op. cit. p. 69.

¹¹ Suchart Prasithrathsin, Some Factors Affecting Fertility and Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of Family Planning Among Rural Thai Women, Working Paper No. 2 (Bangkok: Institute of Population Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1973), p. 45.

where the number of expected children is also taken into account in addition to their live births. It is highly probable that women in the sample began practising birth control rather late in the reproductive cycle, and when the family size had become quite large.

A further analysis shows that, among the users, approximately 35 per cent are taking pills, about 30 per cent are permanently sterilized (female) and 22 per cent are practising some other different methods. Among the non-users, over half of them intend to practise contraception sometime in the future.

The National Follow-up Survey reported that, during the first three years (1968-1970) of concerted effort on the part of the Ministry of Public Health, among acceptors of the three most common methods, 49 per cent were taking pills, 40 per cent were using IUD and 11 per cent were sterilized.¹²

The above analysis indicates that perception of large family and attitude toward legalization of abortion are significantly related to expected family size. These two independent variables are then selected to investigate a partial correlation and their additive effects on the dependent variables. As shown on Table 7 they are highly correlated thus, there will be no severe problem of multicollinearity in the multiple classification analysis.

Table 8 shows that, when attitude toward legalization of abortion is controlled, the strength of relationship between perception of large family and expected family size is slightly minimized. The main impact results from an increase of the mean

¹² Allan G. Rosenfield, Chitt Hemachudha, Winich Asavasena, and Somsak Varakamin, "Thailand: Family Planning Activities 1968 to 1970," Studies in Family Planning, Vol. II, No. 9 (September, 1971), p. 185.

Table 7. Correlation coefficients of the independent KAP variables, namely, knowledge of contraception (KC), perception of large family (PLF), sex preference of children (SPC), sex education in school (SES), attitude toward abortion (AA), and practice of birth control (PBC)

VARIABLE	KC	PLF	SPC	SES	AA	PBC
KC		-.144	-.043	.047	-.083	-.418
PLF			-.078	-.196	.217	.004
SPC				.005	.136	-.029
SES					.050	-.022
AA						.060
PBC						

Table 6. Expected family size by perception of large family, and attitude toward legalization of abortion, controlled for age and place of residence

Variable & Category	Means unadjusted	ETA	Means adjusted for independent variables	BETA	Means adjusted for independent and covariates	BETA	N
<u>Perception of Large Family</u>							
2 - 4	2.62		2.76		2.76		150
5 - 6	3.13		3.11		3.22		280
7 - 9	4.03	0.31	3.97	0.27	3.86	0.23	74
<u>Abortion Attitude</u>							
Liberal	2.95		3.04		3.10		344
Non-liberal	3.77	0.22	3.68	0.17	3.62	0.14	360
Multiple R				.349		.489	
Multiple R Squared				.122		.240	

expected family size associated with the "low" perception, i.e., from 2.62 to 2.76, thus reducing the group differences.

Similarly, differences between the "liberal" and "non-liberal" groups on a question of legalization of abortion become smaller after controlling perception of large family. This phenomenon might be due to the moderate relationship between these KAP variables.

When the covariates of age and place of residence are introduced into the analytical model, both perception of large family and abortion attitude, in terms of "net" relationship, maintain most of their effects on expected family size. To sum up, the compounding effect of the two attribute KAP variables, age and place of residence can explain as much as 24 per cent of the total variance. This is relatively powerful in predicting the expected family size.

CHAPTER VII

ROLE OF WOMAN IN FAMILY DECISION-MAKING

A. Concept of Female Status

In developing an operational definition of female status, it is necessary to distinguish between domestic and public domains and to decide whether to focus on the degree to which women are respected and revered in both domestic and public domains or to concentrate only on the degree to which women hold power and/or authority in one of these domains. Such considerations result in three possible, but not necessarily interrelated, parameters, which should be kept analytically distinct in the discussion of female status. Furthermore, the extent to which they are manifested in the domestic domain may be independent of their manifestation in the public domain.

Domestic domain includes activities performed within the realm of the localized family unit. Public domain includes political and economic activities that take place or have impact beyond the localized family unit and which relate to control of persons or things. The distinction between public and domestic realms, also drawn by Rosaldo and by Sacks,¹ is important, since high status in one domain might conceivably preclude high status in the other, in some societies.

M.G. Smith defines power as "the ability to act effectively on persons or things, to take or secure favourable decisions which are not of right allocated to the individuals or their roles."²

¹ Peggy R. Sandy, "Female Status in the Public Domain," in Michelle Zimbalis Rosado and Louise Lamphere, eds., Woman Culture and Society, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1974, p. 190.

² Michael G. Smith, Government in Zazau, London, 1960, pp. 18 - 19.

Power, then, is de facto and not necessarily recognized. He defines authority as "the right to make a particular decision and to command obedience." In other words, authority is recognized and legitimizes power. Rosaldo also discusses female power and authority using Smith's definition. Since most ethnographers have little or nothing to say explicitly about female power in the public domain, Smith's definition provides a useful operational indicator for making inferences. Furthermore, it is important to recognize indicators for making inferences. It is also important to recognize when dealing with the subject of female status that although female authority may imply power, female power does not necessarily imply authority. Consequently, when assessing female status one must make inferences about the degree of female power.

The degree to which women are respected and revered is the parameter most ethnographers have in mind when they say that women have high status or subordinated status. Western women in their often highly valued roles as helpmate, sex object, the "driving force behind every successful man," etc., can be said to have relatively high status along this parameter. On the other hand, Nupe women, who occupy an economic position generally much better than their husbands but who are openly resented and feared by Nupe men,³ would have to be defined as low in status according to this dimension. The same can be said of many African women who contribute heavily to the basic economy while male activities, according to Levine,⁴ are much more prestigious. Brown⁵ makes a similar point

³ S.F. Nadel, "Witchcraft in four African Societies: An Essay in Comparison," in S. Ottenberg and P. Ottenberg, eds, Cultures and Societies of Africa, New York, 1960.

⁴ Robert A. Levine, "Sex Roles and Economic Change in Africa," in John Middleton, ed., Black Africa, London, 1970, p. 175.

⁵ Judith K. Brown, "Economic Organization and the Position of Women Among the Iroquois," Ethnohistory, 17 (3-4), 1970, pp. 151 - 167.

when she notes that in one case high status may be inferred from deferential treatment, whereas in another, high status may consist of actual position of power over basic resources and important decisions. As she points out, the two need not coincide and should be considered separately. She describes in detail Iroquois women who were not accorded deferential treatment but who held considerable economic and political power. How deference relates to authority (does authority necessarily imply deference?) is another question we shall not get into here.

With these considerations in mind, female status is generally defined in terms of (1) the degree to which females have authority and/or power in the domestic and/or public domains; and (2) the degree to which females are accorded deferential treatment and are respected and revered in the domestic and/or public domains. An analysis of variation in female status and the causes of this variation in any one of these conceptual domains is a legitimate and interesting task. Even more interesting would be an analysis of the relationship between the domains. For example, it might be discovered that high female status in one domain precludes, or is antecedent to, high status in another domain.

B. Thai Family System

There are both nuclear and extended family systems in Thailand. It has been always observed that the love of freedom among the Thais leads to the establishment of nuclear family system which is a kind of family that consists of only two generations. When the offsprings grow up and get married, they often leave their parents and set up their own home when they can afford it economically. There are some cases that grandparents and relatives live in the same household although, generally speaking, off-springs who are married will set up their own households. This type of family is smaller than the so-called extended family which has many generations living together. We can see examples of extended family system in China, India, Japan and the pre-industrial European countries. But Thailand already has

this value although she is still an agricultural oriented society. This is the factor that differentiates Thailand from other agricultural societies.⁶

The extended family has many aspects that are compatible with the agricultural society because there is a lot of untilled land in this type of society. Also, this kind of social structure demands a lot of labour in the producing process and the extended family system provides collective labour which exactly meets this need. The extended family system is self-sufficient because it provides both consumers and producers simultaneously. As far as social welfare is concerned, extended family is a community that is quite able to meet the needs and wants of its members. For example, it provides jobs, basic needs and welfare for the sick and crippled members. Moreover, it provides recreations, education, training of the young, maintenance of security and human relations. Therefore, extended family is a self-sufficient community in which its arrangement is effective for the agricultural society. As a result, most agricultural societies adopt this family system.

In industrial societies, the nuclear family system is widely practised because the economic condition does not buttress the existence of extended family. Also, values in these societies are individualistic. The nuclear family in the Thai agricultural society has both negative and positive impacts. The positive one is that it helps accelerate the process of development from an agricultural society to an industrial one. The negative aspect is that in the past, it failed to maximize utilization of human labour unlike in the extended family system. Also, the nuclear family

⁶ The Javanese (with the exclusion of other societies in Indonesia) and the Burmese family systems are similar to Thai system.

creates problems in terms of not being able to have collective capital and land to be distributed into small pieces since we do not practise primogeniture.

In agricultural societies where the extended family system predominates, the people live close together even if they have no close blood relationship. These people help support each other. They farm together and share their crops. In some cases, members dine together and share utensils. If someone get sick, he will get help even from outside the family. Thus this type of family consists of primary relationship not just among parents and children but also among distant relatives. This type of relationship can be exemplified by the Chinese family in Thailand because, until the present time, there are some Chinese in the rural areas who still live in an extended family that contains about fifty to eighty members who help make their living together. They have shared property, collective income and collective expenses. But among the better off rural Thai, it is a practice to set up their own families as soon as they are married. They build a house for the newlyweds out of the bride's dowry and the couple move out of the parents' place soon after the wedding. Among the poor ones, they live with the parents until they can afford to set up their own household. Some couples work hard to move out of their parents' home even if living on their own is quite difficult. The reason for this is that the Thai desire to be independent and free. Living with ones parents means one has to give up freedom in doing everything that one wants. Therefore, most Thai try very hard to stay away from their parents' home.

The pattern of relationship in the nuclear family is that only parents and children have close relationship; other blood relationships such as cousins, are not considered close. They are considered relatives but no one is obliged to help them unlike the case of brothers and sisters. On the other hand, among members in the extended family one is obliged to help distant blood relations.

Among the Chinese, the mere fact that they have the same last name will make them help each other. Among the Thai, this is not the case and this is reflected in the motto that "everyone is on his own". When they want to help, it is not alone for the reason of being relatives. Relationship in the nuclear family has one good point, that is, it creates self-reliance among its members since they cannot expect help from their relatives. Moreover, it does not make them too dependent on the family. This enables them to migrate without excessive feeling of attachment to the home or feeling of loneliness.⁷ As a result, the rate of geographic mobility in Thailand is rather high i.e., both urban and rural migrations. The negative aspect of nuclear family is the lack of interdependence among its members. For this reason one can easily notice that it is not unusual for well-to-do Thai to have poverty-stricken relatives. Rich people do not help their relatives because they hold on to the value that "everyone is on his own". The same explanation of this value can be applied to the frequent occurrence of lawsuits concerning conflicts over inheritance among brothers and sisters.

On the other hand, the extended family also has its negative aspect in terms of members not being able to work to the fullest of their abilities. It becomes a system that promotes sluggish behavior since each family member may think that, though he does not have income, other members will take care of him anyway. Therefore, it is not necessary to work in this kind of system. Those who work hard will have to feed those who do not work. This is the point of analysis for the underdevelopment of India. The planned production in India is not reached because of the existence of the extended family system in the rural and some part of urban areas in India. This creates the unproductiveness of many people since there is always someone to support him if he does not have adequate income. In the Thai society one cannot rely on his relatives. Thus, there is the struggle for survival. As a result, the Thai do not blame each other for not supporting poor distant

⁷See Adul Wichienchareon: "Movements of Population within Thailand", The Proceedings of the Ninth Pacific Science Congress, 1957, Volume 3, 1963.

relatives. However, they might be blamed for neglecting close relatives such as their parents.

To conclude, nuclear family system which generally exists in the industrial society also exists in the Thai agricultural society. The positive aspect that this system has on the Thai economy is that it creates self - reliance and facilitates the migration of people to the needy labour market. The negative aspect is that it breaks up capital, land labour and creates small scale productions.

C. Wife's Employment and Family Decision-Making

Modern theorists agree that in most democratic countries, the family has evolved from a paternalistic to a much more democratic form. Before World War I, married women had many duties, few rights. They were not permitted to control their property. The husband had the right to collect and use the wife's wages, to decide upon the education of the children, and sometimes to punish his wife if she displeased him. The right to will children, even unborn, to other guardians was retained by the husband. In the case of divorce, when granted at all, the husband had the right to determine the control of the children. To a married woman, her husband was her superior, her companion, her master. In every sector of the social arena, women were in a subordinate position.

Today, couples are more free to choose partners than before and are able to separate more easily. The differences in age and culture between husband and wife are less marked than before. The husband recognizes more willingly his wife's demands and may share housekeeping and diversions; the wife may even work. In fact, sociologists claim that the modern husband and wife are so nearly equal in power that marriage today can be termed "democratic," "equalitarian", or "egalitarian."⁸

⁸Dair L. Gillespie, "Who has the Power ? The Marital Struggle", in Jo Freeman ed., Women: A Feminist Perspective (SUNY at Purchase : Mayfield Publishing Company, 1975) p. 65.

These changes in the form of marriage are generally attributed to the entrance of women into the economic structure and to the extension of an egalitarian ideology to cover women.

From this survey, it is found that as high as 83.6 per cent of wives had work experience before marriage. After marriage, some stopped working by spending most of their time as housewives. Among 741 interviewees, 178 respondents or 24.0 per cent are not presently working.

Detailed information on types of women's employment before and after marriage is clearly shown on the following table.

Table 1. Main occupation before and after marriage

Type of work	After Marriage Per cent (N)	Before Marriage Per cent (N)
Agriculture	12.3 (94)	17.3 (128)
Service and transportation	1.1 (8)	1.1 (8)
Trade	18.2 (138)	14.0 (104)
Administration/Management	3.2 (22)	2.4 (18)
Professional	27.6 (200)	31.8 (236)
Others	14.2 (108)	16.7 (124)
Not working	23.4 (172)	16.7 (124)
Total	100.0 (742)	100.0 (742)

Figures on Table 1 indicate that, before marriage, as high as 31.8 per cent of the sampled women engage in professional activities.⁹ It is interesting to note that its proportion dropped

⁹By "professional" career, it refers to a kind of work that requires special training, e.g., school or college teachers, nurses, medical doctors, lawyers, and the like.

to 27.6 per cent after they got married. This could be best explained in terms of incompatibility between the role of mothers and of professionals. Along the same line, women who engaged in agriculture decreased from 17.3 per cent before getting married to 12.7 per cent after marriage. On the contrary, trading occupations increased from 14.0 per cent to 18.6 per cent. Apparently married women can maintain their role as housewives and good mother by doing a small business at home or at some places nearby.

Table 2. Decision patterns on paying a visit and spending.

Decision-maker	visiting friend Per cent(N)	visiting relative Per cent(N)	spending on food Per cent(N)	spending on other household items Per cent(N)
Always husband	23.7 (176)	18.3 (136)	10.2 (76)	20.2 (150)
Mostly husband	8.4 (62)	7.3 (54)	3.2 (24)	4.9 (36)
Joint-decision	30.7 (228)	33.7 (250)	10.8 (80)	19.1 (142)
Mostly wife	8.9 (66)	8.4 (62)	16.7 (124)	11.3 (84)
Always wife	28.3 (210)	32.3 (120)	59.1 (438)	44.5 (330)
Total	100.0 (742)	100.0 (742)	100.0 (742)	100.0 (742)

Table 2 above shows the degree to which husband and wife exercise their power in deciding certain aspects of daily life, i.e., when and whom to pay a visit, what and how much to spend on food and other household items.

In so far as visit to friends is concerned, the wife has slightly more power than the husband. However, in most cases this is a joint-decision. In visit to relatives, the wife is obviously more powerful than her husband. This is not surprising a phenomenon because women in general are more delicate and closely attached to relatives.

Regarding other types of work such as service and transportation, administration or management function, there is no significant change in the distribution pattern.

Looking closely at the last row on Table 2, we will see that a decision on purchasing general household items is mostly vested in the hands of the housewife (55.8 per cent). Only 19.1 per cent of interviewees responded that the decision came out from discussion and consultation.

The wife is even more powerful in spending on food. Out of 742 sampled women, as much as 438 or 59.1 per cent indicated that the decision on what kind of food to buy and how much to buy was solely made by the wives themselves without even informing their husbands. There were only 10.8 per cent who discussed this matter with spouses before spending. It is obvious that the role of women is traditionally high in domestic or household affairs. And it is relatively low in the public domain which covers four dimensions.¹⁰ These are :

1. Female material control

Females have the ability to act effectively on, to allocate, or to dispose of things -- land, produce, craft, etc., beyond the domestic unit;

2. Demand for female produce

Female produce has a recognized value either internally beyond the localized family unit or in an external market;

¹⁰ Michelle Zimbalis Rosado and Louise Lamphere, eds., op. cit., p. 192.

3. Female political participation

Females even if only through a few token representatives, may express opinions in a regular, official procedure and may influence policy affecting people beyond the domestic unit; and

4. Female solidarity groups devoted to female political or economic interests

Females group together in some regular way to protest or represent their interests, and are recognized and effectual in this activity.

Table 3. Decision on family planning

Decision-maker	accepting Per cent (N)	continuing Per cent (N)	method using Per cent (N)
Entirely husband	9.2 (68)	10.5 (78)	9.2 (68)
Mostly husband	2.4 (18)	1.8 (14)	3.2 (24)
Joint-decision	44.7 (332)	40.2 (298)	29.9 (222)
Mostly wife	7.0 (52)	6.5 (48)	10.0 (74)
Entirely wife	33.2 (246)	37.2 (276)	43.9 (326)
N.A.	3.5 (26)	3.8 (28)	3.8 (28)
Total	100.0 (742)	100.0 (742)	100.0 (742)

Further inquiry is made to investigate family decision patterns on family planning. It is found that, on a question of accepting or not accepting the concept of family planning, the wife has a more say than the husband at a proportion of 4 : 1. However, as high as 44.7 per cent of the total cases make their decisions through discussions with spouses.

The role of the husband is decreased when it comes to a decision on whether to continue or to discontinue practising birth control as clearly shown on Table 3. And the wife's role is increased in determining methods to be adopted. The simple reason for this is that -- the most popular birth control devices among Thai women are pills, injection, and female sterilization. Condom and male sterilization are not quite popular in the country especially among rural people.

Table 4. Decision on desired family size and spacing between children.

Decision-maker	desired family size Per cent (N)	spacing between children Per cent (N)
Entirely husband	13.2 (98)	10.8 (30)
Mostly husband	4.3 (32)	2.7 (20)
Joint-decision	52.6 (390)	42.8 (318)
Mostly wife	6.5 (48)	10.0 (74)
Entirely wife	21.6 (160)	29.9 (222)
N.A.	1.8 (14)	3.8 (28)
Total	100.0 (742)	100.0 (742)

It is worth noting that husband and wife usually discuss with each other more often and more intensively regarding desired family size and spacing between children. The empirical analysis reveals that the degree of female power in this matter is significantly higher than men.

Finally, there is an attempt to investigate relationship between wife's employment status and family decision-making patterns. The statistical test does not allow us to confirm that there is a relationship between the two variables. In other words, working

or not-working type of occupation, and duration of labor force participation do not significantly affect decision-making patterns within the family.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The study shows that five independent variables, namely, husband's occupation, age at marriage, husband's movie attendance, household budget situation, and attitude toward legalization of abortion are the most important factors in explaining expected fertility differentials. Among the five, age at marriage is the single most powerful predictor for expected family size of women.

Cross-sectional analysis discloses that there is a differential sex role in family power structure. Women have more control in domestic domain, particularly on family planning perspectives. In most cases, however, a final decision results from collaborative efforts between husband and wife. And finally, women's employment is not significantly associated with female status in decision power.

SEAPRAP

THE SOUTHEAST ASIA POPULATION RESEARCH AWARDS PROGRAM

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

- * To strengthen the research capabilities of young Southeast Asian social scientists, and to provide them with technical support and guidance if required.
- * To increase the quantity and quality of social science research on population problems in Southeast Asia.
- * To facilitate the flow of information about population research developed in the program as well as its implications for policy and planning among researchers in the region, and between researchers, government planners and policy makers.

ILLUSTRATIVE RESEARCH AREAS

The range of the research areas include a wide variety of research problems relating to population, but excludes reproductive biology. The following are some examples of research areas that could fall within the general focus of the Program:

- * Factors contributing to or related to fertility regulation and family planning programs; familial, psychological, social, political and economic effects of family planning and contraception.
- * Antecedents, processes, and consequences (demographic, cultural, social, psychological, political, economic) of population structure, distribution, growth and change.
- * Family structure, sexual behaviour and the relationship between child-bearing patterns and child development.
- * Inter-relationships between population variables and the process of social and economic development (housing, education, health, quality of the environment, etc).
- * Population policy, including the interaction of population variables and economic policies, policy implications of population distribution and movement with reference to both urban and rural settings, and the interaction of population variables and law.
- * Evaluation of on-going population education programs and/or development of knowledge-based population education program.

- * Incentive schemes — infrastructures, opportunities; overall economic and social development programs.

SELECTION CRITERIA

Selection will be made by a Program Committee of distinguished Southeast Asian scholars in the social sciences and population. The following factors will be considered in evaluating research proposals:

1. relevance of the proposed research to current issues of population in the particular countries of Southeast Asia;
2. its potential contribution to policy formation, program implementation, and problem solving;
3. adequacy of research design, including problem definition, method of procedure, proposed mode of analysis, and knowledge of literature;
4. feasibility of the project, including time requirement; budget; and availability, accessibility, and reliability of data;
5. Applicant's potential for further development.

DURATION AND AMOUNT OF AWARDS

Research awards will be made for a period of up to one year. In exceptional cases, requests for limited extension may be considered. The amount of an award will depend on location, type and size of the project, but the maximum should not exceed US\$7,500.

QUALIFICATIONS OF APPLICANTS

The Program is open to nationals of the following countries: Burma, Indonesia, Kampuchea, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. Particular emphasis will be placed on attracting young social scientists in provincial areas.

Applications are invited from the following:

- * Graduate students in thesis programs
- * Faculty members
- * Staff members in appropriate governmental and other organizations.

Full-time commitment is preferable but applicants must at least be able to devote a substantial part of their time to the research project. Advisers may be provided, depending on the needs of applicants.